

5122 A SERIOUS

ADDRESS

To the PEOPLE of

GREAT BRITAIN.

In which the

Certain CONSEQUENCES of the
PRESENT REBELLION,

Are fully demonstrated.

Necessary to be perused by every LOVER of
his COUNTRY, at this Juncture.

The SECOND EDITION Corrected, with Additions.

*Per Deos Immortales, vos ego appello, qui semper Damos,
Villas, Signa, Tabulas vestras, pluris, quam rempublicam
fecistis: si ista cujuscumque modi sint, quæ amplectamini,
retinere; si voluptatibus vestris otium præbere, vultis:
expergiscimini aliquando, & capeffite rempublicam. Non
nunc agitur de vectigalibus, non de Sociorum Injuriis;
Libertas & anima nostra in dubio est.*

SAL. BEL. CATALIN.

L O N D O N :

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CERTIFICATE

PRESIDENT



The Secretary

of the

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A SERIOUS
ADDRESS

To the PEOPLE of
GREAT BRITAIN.

GENTLEMEN,

THE Rebellion lately begun in *Scotland*, under the Banner of a *popish Pretender*, encourag'd and assisted with the Counsels and Arms of *France and Spain*, is no longer an Object of your Derision. The Progress of these Rebels is such, as should awaken your Apprehensions at least, and no longer suffer you to neglect the proper Methods for your Defence. The Cause, indeed, is of such a Nature, that the *least* Danger is sufficient to *alarm* us; but the *highest* (was it possible to arrive at such an Height) should not *dishearten* or *terrify* us from engaging in it.

I am unwilling to think there is a Man in this Kingdom, Papists excepted, *weak* enough to wish well to this Rebellion. I am as unwilling to believe there is one, who desires to preserve our present Constitution, *base* enough to decline the Hazard of his Life, and of his Fortune, in its Preservation. Is any *Englishman* so ignorant, as not to know the Happiness of our present Constitution? So insensible, as not to perceive the total Destruction with which it is threatned? Or *so mean, so inglorious a Coward*, as patiently to submit to this Destruction!

To what Opinion, or to what Principle, must any Man sacrifice himself and his Country, who inclines to the Pretender's Side on this Occasion? The old, obsolete, absurd Doctrine of Hereditary Right, if admitted, would not justify him: The Right of his present Majesty is much stronger and clearer, even in this Light. The suspicious Birth of the Pretender was attended with such glaring Evidence of Fraud and Imposture, that no Jury would have suffered him to have succeeded, even to a private Right descended from *James* the Second, could his Pretensions have been fairly and impartially tried before them. I shall not, however, insist upon this Point. The Doctrine itself of such an indefeasible Right to the Crown hath been justly exploded; the Legislature of the Kingdom have unanimously declared

declared against any such Principle: The Reverse of it is Law, a Law as firmly established as any other in this Kingdom; nay, it is the Foundation, the Corner-Stone of all our Laws, and of this Constitution itself; nor is the Declaration and Confirmation of this great Right of the People one of the least of those Blessings, which we owe to the Revolution. Whatever, therefore, tends to the Shaking of this fundamental Right, doth of itself introduce an opposite System of Government, and *changes not only the King, but the Constitution.*

Admitting, therefore, this Pretender to be the Son of *James* the Second, the stronger is the Reason for rejecting him. *Shall we return like a Dog to his Vomit?* Shall we bring back that Family which we have expelled, together with the Principles *for which* we expelled them; and which, with the Restoration of the same Family, must be also restor'd? Shall we pronounce, as this insolent Man hath dared to do in his Declaration, *that we have been under an Usurpation these fifty Years?* That Lords and Commons, and the whole *English* Nation, have been Traitors so long? That the Bill of Rights, the Act of Succession, and the Act of Union, were *High-Treason?*

Let us look back to the History of that Prince, from whom this Pretender claims. It was not only the Difference of his Religion

gion from that of this Country, which made him unfit to be King of it; he was unfit to govern even a Catholic Country, which had Liberties to defend, because his Mind was strongly tainted with all the Notions of absolute Power. Passive Obedience, and Non-resistance on the Part of the Subject, and a *dispensing Power* in the Crown, with an indefeasible Hereditary Right, *Jure Divino*, were as much Articles of his political Creed, as the Supremacy of the Pope, or Transubstantiation, were of his religious one: Upon the former he acted thro' his whole Reign; nay, in the Reign of his Brother; whose Indolence gave him a great Share of the Royal Authority, and this it was which chiefly occasion'd the Weakness and Faults of that Reign, at home and abroad. By his Instigation, did King *Charles* the Second make War with the *Dutch*, against the Interest of *England*, only because they were a free State, and likely to assist this Kingdom in maintaining its Liberties. By his Instigation, did he nurse up the Power of *France*, that *France* might assist the two Royal Brothers in enslaving the People of *England*. By his Instigation, did the same *Charles* the Second dissolve those Parliaments that press'd the Bill of Exclusion. By his Instigation, did he take away, by *Quo Warranto's*, the Charters of all Corporations that had oppos'd the Crown in Elections. By his Instigation,

stigation, did he shed some of the *best and noblest Blood* in this Kingdom, *against Law*, and *by Form of Law*, which is the worst of all Tyranny. It was *James Duke of York*, who whetted the Axe which beheaded *Algernon Sidney*, for writing a Book in Defence of our Liberties, and the good Lord *Russel*, for promoting the Bill of Exclusion, *as a Member of Parliament*. When in spite of that Bill he ascended the Throne, he fully justified the Caution of Parliament, and of those worthy Patriots, in their Design of excluding him, both as a Bigot and as a Tyrant; and this in direct Contradiction to the strongest and most solemn Promises of maintaining both our Religion and Liberties; Promises which he again repeated, when he thought his Crown was in Danger, and again broke, when he thought himself in the least delivered from that Danger. Besides his avowed Design of establishing Popery, besides all those Acts of arbitrary Power, enumerated in the Declaration of Rights, *which struck at the very Root of Liberty, and the Fundamentals of our Constitution*, there are many Instances of wanton Cruelty and inveterate Revenge, where neither the Interest of the Priest or Tyrant were concern'd, (and which could proceed only from that cruel Disposition, which he had before discovered in *Scotland*, by the Delight he testified in the Groans and Skreams of Wretches

Wretches under Torture * ;) . witness the inhuman and unparallel'd Butchery committed in cold Blood, by his immediate Order, on *Monmouth's* conquer'd People in the West ; for which his wicked Instrument, *Jeffreys*, was at his Return immediately rewarded with the Seals : The unmanly, as well as illegal Murder of a *poor old Woman*, in the Case of Lady *Lisle* ; and that ever-memorable Removal of Lord Chief Justice *Herbert* from the King's Bench, in order to hang a private Soldier contrary to Law. These are Facts which bespeak not only a bad Prince, but a bad Man ; not only an arbitrary and wicked, but a base and contemptible Mind : Facts which would have glar'd in the History of a *Dionysius*, or of any the most abhorr'd Tyrants of Antiquity.

But it may be said, that though this Pretender derives a Right, he ought not to derive any Infamy from his supposed Father, since *He* may possibly protect that Religion and Liberty, which the other endeavoured to extirpate.

Upon what these Hopes are founded, is not easy to conceive ; on the contrary, without allowing the Legitimacy of his Birth, of which, however, the Temper he hath always disclosed, is the strongest Evidence, we might be allowed to draw some Apprehen-

* *Vide Burnet's History of Charles II. Vol. I. p. 583.*

sions from the Education which he had in his Infancy, under this very Person, and which was afterwards compleated in the Courts of *France* and *Rome*.

These Circumstances alone would justify our Fears, had his own Conduct given us none: But when of all the Professors of that cruel Religion, he is known to be the most bigotted; when without Power, without Dominions, he hath in the little Circle of his mock Court exhibited the strongest Picture of a Tyrant, affecting every Opportunity to express his Resolution of being arbitrary, what further, what stronger Assurances can we want; nay, what could we possibly have of the *Misery*, the *Perdition*, which such a Choice must entail on ourselves, and our Posterity?

His Bigotry is so well known to the whole World, that it requires no Instances. His whole Life is one constant Act of Superstition. A single Example, however, is too glaring to be passed by, as it shews an Abhorrence to our Religion scarce to be paralleled: When he was in *Scotland*, in the Year 1716, he absolutely refused to admit Dr. *Lesly*, a Protestant Divine, to say Grace at his Table; but ordered a Roman Catholic Priest to perform that Ceremony. This Dr. *Lesly* was a *Non-juror*, one who had embraced his Party, and was by him

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made a Bishop. He was a *Scotchman*, refused this little Favour in the Face of his Countrymen, who were to expose their Lives and Fortunes in order to set this Popish Bigot on the Throne of *Great Britain*: All these Men he ventured disobliging, rather than he would shew the least Countenance to that Religion, which some simple Protestants have been weak enough to flatter themselves, that he would better defend than a Prince of our own Religion.

Nor is the Civil Tyrant less apparent in this pretended King, than the Religious: His little Court at *Avignon* was compared by the late Lord *Mar*, who was at it, to that of *Lewis XIV.* in the absolute Demeanour of its Sovereign; (for indeed it could resemble it in no other Instance;) where this mock King strutted about with a kind of theatrical Pomp, and, though conquer'd, banish'd, deserted, without a single Smile of Fortune to swell his Ambition, he retained all those Principles of Pride and arbitrary Power, with which Flattery and Success inspired the Mind of *the Grand Monarch*. This is a Fact publish'd by many, who, from Detestation of his Principles, abandoned the Cause of a Man who thus tyranniz'd over voluntary Slaves, whom Rebellion alone had subjected to his Authority.

And

And shall we be cheated with so gross an Imposition, that it is not under the Banner of this Pretender, but of his Son, that the *Highlanders* have now taken up Arms? What is the Son but the Tool of the Father? Doth he not act by Commission from him? Hath he not taken upon himself the Title of Regent only, during the Absence, and in the Name of his Father? Is not his Father now actually removing from *Rome*, to come and take Possession of his Son's Conquests, were we either so weak, or so miserable as to be conquer'd by such an Invader?

This is the Person who is now to be obtruded upon us; this is he for whom we are to exchange a Prince, who, during a Reign of eighteen Years, hath not stain'd a Scaffold with a single Drop of *English* Blood; (an Instance not to be parallel'd in any one Reign since the Conquest.) Nor can his Enemies shew any one Example in his whole Reign, where any, even the lowest Subject, hath been oppress'd in his Person, or deprived of his Property, by means unauthoriz'd by the known Laws of this Realm.

But if the Sins of this Pretender's Forefathers, the Religion and Principles in which he hath been educated, the popish Bigotry and civil Tyranny, which he hath always profess'd and practis'd, be not sufficient to raise our Terror and Detestation of his

Name; there is yet another Reason behind, one more conclusive, if possible, against his Cause, than any I have yet urged. This Firebrand is not only the Instrument of *Rome* and *Spain*, but of *France* too: He brings not only papal Bulls, and *Spanish* Inquisitions, but *French* Gallies and Bastiles along with him.

If Popery and arbitrary Power, if the Destruction of our Religion and Constitution cannot alarm us, still the Apprehensions of *French* Government must be surely sufficient. Whatever the highest Degrees of Wickedness or Folly might prompt us to submit to under an absolute popish Monarch of our own, there is not, I hope, a single Person so base, as patiently to see his Country betrayed to be a *Province of France*, the certain, the inevitable Consequence of the Pretender's Success. True it is, that neither of these Powers have been yet able to land any Forces in this Kingdom; a happy Circumstance, for which we are only obliged to the excellent Disposition and Care of our Fleets: For are they not known to have both Transports and Men ready for this Purpose? Nay, was not that *French* Man of War, which was providentially defeated by one of ours, filled with both Men and Arms for his Service?

Is *English* Liberty, or is *French* Slavery so little known, that it is necessary
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to expatiate a Moment on either? Shall I even be permitted to remind you of the Security, with which the Freedom, the Life, the Property of *Englishmen* are guarded by the Law? Can the greatest Man among us, even the King himself, take one of these from the poorest? Can any Man be imprisoned wrongfully, without present Redress, and future Satisfaction? Can he be punish'd without a Trial, without an unanimous Conviction, by twelve Men of his Equals, having been first accus'd on the Oaths of a Grand Jury of the like Number? Is he then liable to any other Sentence, than that to which the express Letter of the Law adjudges him, a Sentence which the King can neither aggravate or alter?

Is his Property less safe than his Life? May he not enjoy it how he will, and give it to whom he pleases? Can any Man take from him an Acre, or a Shilling, but by a due Course of Law, in which his Cause is to be determined by the same Jury of his Equals?

Perhaps the Slavery of *France*, though too nearly our Neighbour, may be less known, and her *Lettres de Cachet* may be a Word less understood than the *Habeas Corpus Act*.

Give me Leave, therefore, to inform you, that the Person of a *Frenchman* is so far from being protected by their Laws from Imprisonment, that they are every Day

Day liable, without any Crime, nay, *without any Accusation*, to be seized by the Authority of a *Lettre de Cachet*, (a Warrant under the King's Signet, backed by a Secretary of State) and conveyed not only to Prisons, *but Dungeons*, where their Friends and Relations neither know the Places of their Confinement, nor if they did, would they have any Method of obtaining their Discharge, (however innocent) nor even of procuring Access to them.

And as they may be sent to these Prisons without any Accusation, so may they be detained there without any Trial, often for many Years, and sometimes to the End of their Lives, however long Nature may be able to struggle with all the Miseries, Wants, and Inclemencies of a noisome Dungeon.

Nor is this Cruelty exerted *rarely*, on *high Exigencies of State*, or *against dangerous and traiterous Persons only*; but on the slightest Occasions, and to satisfy the private Resentment of one Man against another. *Lettres de Cachet* (says a celebrated *French Writer*) * *sont les Armes que certaines Gens emploient en France contre leurs Enemies. These Letters are the Arms which several Persons in France employ against their Enemies.* The Jealousy

* *Richelet.*

of an amorous Intrigue hath frequently brought on this Mischief: This an *English* Gentleman, well known in the World, experienced; who was confined seven Years in the *Bastile*, by one of these Letters, on Account of an Amour. Nor need this be the Jealousy of a Minister of State, a Prince of the Blood, or of any great Man; that of a *Valet de Chambre* to any of them will be sufficient; nay, or of any other Person, who by Interest or Money can purchase one of these Letters; which may be had from the lowest Court-Dependant: so common are they, that in the Administration of Cardinal *Fleury*, the gentlest and mildest Prime Minister which *France* ever knew, no less than FORTY-EIGHT THOUSAND of these Letters were granted, which were sold by his Officers and Servants to any who would pay for them; so that well may the abovementioned Writer say of them, *That they make the Abbés and Courtiers tremble.*

Nor are the Lives of these miserable People more secure than their Liberties. As to all the lower Sort, they hold their Lives in a manner at the Will of their Masters; who, if they think proper to kill them, are seldom in more Danger than of a moderate Mulet; it being inconsistent with *French* Politeness to hang a Gentleman for the Death of a Slave or a Peasant.

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As to their legal Method of destroying Persons, take the following Instance. A *Gascon*, in the Year 1713, killed an Officer of the Finances. It appeared on the Evidence, that it was done in the Defence of his Wife, who was assaulted and very rudely treated by the Officer; on this he was acquitted. Upon Application of the superior Officers of the Finances, (the Craft being in danger) the Cause was try'd over again before other Judges, by the King's special Mandate; and the poor *Gascon*, notwithstanding he made the same good Defence, was convicted and executed.

Inferior Punishments (the Gallies for Instance) are inflicted often in a summary Manner, without any Form of Trial; and many are condemned to them for Life by Order of the King, or of the Secretary of State.

Nor is it only in civil Matters, from Jealousy of State, that these Severities are exercised; the Clergy are allowed the Use of them against the *Jansenist*; that is, against those of their Countrymen who dare to maintain the Liberties of the *Gallican Church, in Opposition to the illegal Claims of the Pope*. Such a wicked League will there always be in Roman Catholic Countries, between ecclesiastical and civil Tyranny.

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If their Lives and Liberties are so insecure, we ought not to suppose their Properties to be in a better Situation. And first, no Man in the Kingdom (of what Quality soever) dares cut his Corn, when ripe, till the King's Officers have chosen what Part they will receive for his Service, and this at their own Price: A Restraint of the utmost Inconvenience to the poor Farmer, who is obliged to bribe these Officers to do their Duty, which, in order to exact Money of these Wretches, they will often neglect till the Corn becomes rotten on the Ground.

And how easy it is to deprive them even of this precarious Property, may be gathered from the Conduct of their Courts of Judicature; which, whenever a Cause is to be tried between a great Man and his Inferior, are always filled with the Nobility, who never fail by their Presence (as their Intent visibly is) to influence and awe the Judges by whose Voices the Cause is determined.

Instances of this kind happen almost every Day; indeed they are as common there in Decisions of private Property, as Examples of Corruption in *England* at Elections in the most corrupt Borough of the Kingdom.

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Lastly, as to their Taxations : The Method is in all their Provinces, that where-as a certain Sum is arbitrarily demanded by the Court of the Province, the *Intendant* (an Officer appointed by the Court) hath Power to levy it in what Manner he pleases; a Power which is always exercised with the greatest Oppression and Partiality. Such are the Cruelties with which the levying these Taxes are attended in this present War, that there is scarce a Peasant in *France* who hath a Bed left to lie upon; and to such Miseries are they reduced, as I am assured by a Gentleman just come over from thence, that by Filth, Famine and Grief, *they have almost lost the human Countenance.*

And this, Gentlemen, is the Constitution, this is the Government now endeavoured to be obtruded upon us, and which is to rage here with all the Aggravation with which the worst Governments exercise their Tyranny over a dependant Province.

This then being the Civil Exchange we are to make, let us now examine the Religious. And here I shall omit the Advantages which, in a spiritual Sense, our Religion has over popish Heathenism and Innovation; that Task hath been often executed by much more able Pens: It is sufficient for my present Purpose to set before you the Horrors of Popery in a temporal Light only.

On this Head, I may be excused from an unnecessary Panegyric on that Freedom with which all Men in this Nation are suffered to enjoy their own Consciences, and to serve their God in what Manner they please.

How different from, indeed how opposite to this is the Temper of Popery, even in *France* itself, where the Malignity and Fury of that Religion rages with somewhat less Violence than in those Countries from whence the religious Model brought over to us by the Pretender must be derived. Hear a learned and ingenious Writer *, speaking of *Marseilles* in the Year 1686, at a Time when *James II.* was attempting to introduce this very Religion into *England*.

‘ The Instances, say he, I saw, are so much beyond all the common Measures of Barbarity and Cruelty, that I confess they ought not to be believed, unless I could give more positive Proofs of them than are fitting now to be brought forth ; and the Particulars that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them, with the necessary Circumstances of Time, Place, and Persons, these might be so fatal to many that are in the Power of their

* *Dr. Burnet.*

' Enemies, that my Regard to them re-
 ' strains me. In short, I do not think that
 ' in any Age there ever was such a Viola-
 ' tion of all that is sacred, either with rela-
 ' tion to God or Man: And what I saw
 ' and knew there, from the first Hand,
 ' hath so confirmed all the Ideas that I had
 ' taken from Books, of the Cruelty of that
 ' Religion, that I hope the Impression that
 ' this hath made upon me, shall never end
 ' but with my Life. The Applauses that
 ' the whole Clergy give to this Way of
 ' Proceeding, the many Panegyricks that
 ' are already writ upon it, of which, besides
 ' the more pompous ones that appear at
 ' *Paris*, there are Numbers writ by smaller
 ' Authors in every Town of any Note there;
 ' and the Sermons, that are all Flights of
 ' Flattery upon this Subject, are such evi-
 ' dent Demonstrations of their Sense of this
 ' Matter, that what is now on foot may
 ' well be termed, The Act of the whole
 ' Clergy of *France*; which yet hath been
 ' hitherto esteemed the most moderate Part
 ' of the *Roman* Communion. If any are
 ' more moderate than others, and have not
 ' so far laid off the Human Nature, as to
 ' go intirely into those bloody Practices, yet
 ' they dare not own it, but whisper it in
 ' secret, as if it were half Treason; but
 ' for the greater Part, they do not only mag-
 ' nify

' nify all that is done, but they animate
 ' even the Dragoons to higher Degrees of
 ' Rage: And there was such a Heat spread
 ' over all the Country upon this Occasion,
 ' that one could not go into any Ordinary,
 ' or mix in any promiscuous Conversation,
 ' without finding such Effects of it, that it
 ' was not easy for such as were touched
 ' with the least Degree of Compassion for
 ' the Miseries that the poor Protestants suf-
 ' fered, to be a Witness to the Insultings
 ' that they must meet with in all Places.'

Again, a little afterward :

' I must take the Liberty to add one
 ' thing to you, That I do not see that the
 ' *French King* is to be so much blamed in
 ' this Matter, as his Religion, which, with-
 ' out Question, *obligeth him to extirpate*
 ' *Hereticks, and not to keep his Faith with*
 ' *them*; so that, instead of censuring him,
 ' I must only lament his being bred up in
 ' a Religion that doth certainly oblige him
 ' *to divest himself of Humanity, and to vio-*
 ' *late his Faith, whensoever the Cause of his*
 ' *Church and of his Religion require it*; or
 ' if there is any thing in this Conduct, that
 ' cannot be entirely justified from the Prin-
 ' ciples of that Religion, it is this, that he
 ' doth not put the Heretics to Death out
 ' of hand, but forceth them, by all the
 ' Extremities possible, to sign an Abjura-
 ' tion, that all the World must needs see is
 ' done

' done against their Consciences; and be-
 ' ing the only End of their Miseries, those
 ' that would think any sort of Death a
 ' happy Conclusion of their Sufferings, see-
 ' ing no Prospect of such a glorious Issue
 ' out of their Trouble, are prevailed on,
 ' by the many lingering Deaths, of which
 ' they see no End, to make Shipwreck of
 ' the Faith. This Appearance of Mercy,
 ' in not putting Men to Death, doth truly
 ' verify the Character that *Salomon* giveth
 ' of the tender Mercies of the Wicked, that
 ' they are cruel.'

But what is the State of Popery in *Italy*
 and *Spain*, where the Inquisition flourishes,
 that Inquisition which we are to expect
 here, could this *Italian* Pretender, by the
 joint Assistance of *Spain*, succeed in his
 Attempts: For it is the only Interest (as
 we shall prove by and by) that *Spain* can
 propose from the Enterprize wherein she is
 embarked.

I will here present you with a very short
 Sketch of this Inquisition, every Word of
 which I have extracted from the famous
 History of *Philip à Limborch*, after having
 recommended the Book at large to the Pe-
 rusal of such as are able to procure it.

The Judge of this hellish Court, who is
 called the Inquisitor, is appointed by the
 Pope, and is always a Person duly qualified
 for the Exercise of such a Power, which is
 almost

almost totally arbitrary: For though (says *Limborch*) he is bound to certain general Laws, yet many things are left to his Pleasure. Besides, the very Application of the Laws to particular Cases which come before the Inquisition, and also the Method of Proceeding and drawing a Confession from the Prisoners, depends very much on their Will.

In order to bring any Person before his Court, no direct Charge is necessary; it is sufficient, that the Accuser relates to the Inquisitor, that there is such a Report, and that it hath frequently come to the Ears of the Inquisitor from grave and reputable Persons, that such a one hath done or said some Things against the Faith; and by this means (says he) the Process is carried on. Now, as to the Witnesses against these Criminals, in favour of the Faith, all Persons, even such as are not allowed in other Tribunals, are admitted; nay, even perjur'd Persons, who having taken an Oath before the Inquisition to speak the Truth, have forsworn themselves by concealing it, and would afterwards correct themselves, and swear back again; nay, all other infamous Persons whatsoever.

The Method of examining these Witnesses is as iniquitous as the admitting them; for at this Examination none are present but the Witness himself and the Judge,

Judge, the Writer, and two Assistants to the Inquisitor; nay, sometimes these two are omitted at the whole Examination, and are only call'd in to attest the Witness's signing his Deposition. And how doth their Presence (says my Author) make any thing to the Defence of the Criminal? Or what doth it avail him, that his Accusers are known to Persons whom he himself knows nothing of, and who are forbidden to discover any thing after.

The Prisoner having been kept in Dungeons and in Irons, and having been accus'd as above, is at length brought before his Judge, where being under all the Circumstances of Horror, he is privately examin'd before his Judge, and a Notary only: Here every Art is made use of to entrap and ensnare him into a Confession, by which, if they do not prevail, they have usually recourse to Torture, the last and greatest Argument on the Side of Popery. Of the Manner of this Torture, as it is very singular, I shall give a short Account from the aforesaid Author, after having premis'd, that the slightest Proof imaginable renders the Criminal liable to undergo it.

The Place of Torture in the *Spanish* Inquisition is generally an under-ground and very dark Room, to which one enters thro' several Doors: There is a Tribunal erected in it, in which the Inquisitor, Inspector and Secretary

Secretary sit ; when the Candles are lighted, and the Person to be tortured, brought in, the Executioner, who was waiting for the Order, makes an astonishing and dreadful Appearance ; he is cover'd all over with a black Linen Garment down to his Feet, and tied close to his Body ; his Head and Face are all hid with a long black Cowl, only two little Holes being left in it for him to see through. All this is intended to strike the miserable Wretch with greater Terror in Mind and Body, when he sees himself going to be tortured by the Hands of one, who, thus, looks like the very Devil.

The Torture being prepar'd, the Criminal, having been exhorted, or rather insulted over by the Priests, is delivered to the Torturer to be stript.

This Stripping is perform'd without any Regard to Humanity or Honour, not only to Men, but to Women and Virgins, though the most Virtuous and Chaste, of whom they have sometimes many in their Prisons ; for they cause them to be stript, even to their very Shifts, which they afterwards take off, and then put on them straight Linen Drawers, and make their Arms naked quite up to their Shoulders. As to the Torture (which they call Quassation) it is thus perform'd : The Prisoner hath his Hands bound behind his Back, and Weights tied to his Feet, and

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then he is drawn up on high, till his Head reaches the very Pulley; he is kept hanging in this Manner for some time, that by the Greatness of the Weight hanging at his Feet, all his Joints and Limbs may be dreadfully stretched, and on a sudden he is let down with a Jerk, by the Slackening the Rope, but kept from coming quite to the Ground, by which terrible Shake, his Arms and Legs are all disjoined, whereby he is put to the most exquisite Pain; the Shock which he receives by the sudden Stop of his Fall, and the Weight at his Feet stretching his whole Body more intensely and cruelly.

There are many other Kinds of Torture, too tedious to be transcribed here: Two, however, for their singular Cruelty, should not be omitted.

The first is this: There is a wooden Bench, which they call the wooden Horse, made hollow like a Trough, so as to contain a Man lying on his Back at full Length, about the Middle of which there is a round Bar laid a-cross, upon which the Back of the Person is plac'd; so that he lies on the Bar, instead of being let into the Bottom of the Trough, with his Feet much higher than his Head; as he is lying in this Posture, his Arms, Thighs and Shins are tied round with small Cords or Strings, which being drawn with Screws at proper Distances from each other, cut into the very Bones,

so

so as no longer to be discerned. Besides this, the Torturer throws over his Mouth and Nostrils a thin Cloth, so that he is scarce able to breathe through them, and in the mean while a small Stream of Water, like a Thread, not Drop by Drop, falls from on high upon the Mouth of the Person lying in this miserable Condition, and so easily sinks down the thin Cloth to the Bottom of his Throat; so that there is no Possibility of breathing, his Mouth being stopp'd with Water, and his Nostrils with the Cloth; thus the poor Wretch is in the same Agonies, as Persons ready to die, and breathing out their last. When this Cloth is drawn out of his Throat, as it often is, that he may answer to the Questions, it is all wet with Water and Blood, and is like pulling his Bowels through his Mouth. The other Torture, which my Author says is *peculiar to this Tribunal*, is called the Fire; and this is, by holding a large Chafing-dish of Charcoal close to the tortur'd Person's Feet, being first greas'd with Lard, that the Heat may more quickly pierce thro' them.

I now proceed to their Punishments, (for what you have hitherto heard, is only their Method of Trial) and these are in Number seven: First, Confiscation of Goods; and this is so extremely severe, not only on the Criminals, but on their Relations and

Heirs, that even a Daughter's Portion, tho' paid before, is to be revok'd and confiscated ; the second is the Corruption of Blood, and disinheriting their Heirs ; third, they are render'd infamous ; fourth, they are deprived of all natural Right ; fifth, they are imprisoned ; sixth, they are laid under the Bann, *i. e.* put out of the Protection of the Law, and any one may kill them with Impunity ; seventh, and last Punishment, is Death, and that by burning, or indeed sometimes rather roasting them alive ; for all these Punishments are inflicted with the utmost Severity. Nay, sometimes (says my Author) this Punishment of Burning is heightened by another Kind of Cruelty. In *Spain* and the *Netherlands*, lest they should speak to the Spectators, when brought to the Stake, and piously testify their Constancy, they were gagged with an Iron Instrument ; so that in the Midst of their Torments they could utter only an inarticulate Sound. And if they could invent any thing more terrible, they would not fail to use it against Heretics : This *Carena* testifies, affirming, that the Custom of punishing Heretics with Fire is most reasonable, *because Burning is the most terrible Death, and therefore the most grievous of all Crimes ought to be punished with it ; so that if any Punishment more terrible than this could be found out, it ought to be inflicted on Heretics ;*

ties; and also because by this Means the Heretic and his Crime is more speedily blotted out from the Remembrance of Mankind.

My Author concludes his Chapter of their Punishments in the following Words.

‘ Thus we see, that there is no Kind
 ‘ of Punishment that can possibly be invented, but is enacted against Heretics,
 ‘ and that greater Gentleness is used towards Thieves, Traitors and Rebels, those
 ‘ Enemies of Mankind, than towards miserable Heretics; who endeavouring to
 ‘ worship God with a pure Conscience, and regulate their Lives by the Gospel Rule,
 ‘ yet oppose some Doctrines of the Church of Rome, which they are persuaded are contrary to the Gospel; and that it is a much
 ‘ more grievous Offence in that Church, to oppose certain Opinions by the clear
 ‘ Light of the Word of God, and to reject certain Pharisaical Superstitions, than
 ‘ openly contemn the Divine Commands by an impious and profane Life, and
 ‘ vilely to dishonour the most Holy Name of God.’

This is the Temper of Popery! Of that Religion in which the Pretender was educated, which he hath always profess’d, to which he is the most devoted Bigot! This is the Religion now practis’d in those Countries, where he hath been bred, by whose Assistance he now invades these Kingdoms!

And

And this is the Religion, which by their Assistance is to be introduced here : A Consequence which would so certainly attend his Success, that it is almost capable of Demonstration ; first, from the Nature and Temper of the Religion itself, which regards the Professors of all other Religions to be in a State of Damnation ; that no Faith is to be held with them ; that they are to be extirpated with Fire and Sword ; Methods which have not only been prescribed, but practised in the most barbarous and violent Manner, against the most binding Laws, and the most solemn Agreements ; witness the two famous Massacres in *France* and in *Ireland*, the first of which was executed in Consequence of a Treaty made to no other Purpose, than to decoy the *Hugonots* to their Destruction ; the other in the midst of profound Peace, when the Papists enjoy'd the private Exercise of their Religion, and all the civil Protection that could be given to any Subjects. In one of these, no less than a Hundred thousand, in the other at least Forty thousand *unhappy Protestants* were in the dead of Night surpriz'd in their Sleep, and murder'd without Mercy or Exception, for the Sake of Religion only *. And this not by Thieves and Robbers, but religious Cut-

* *Thuanus, Mezeray, Rapin and Whitlock.*

throats,

throats, who thought that by spilling the Blood of Heretics they wash'd away their own Sins. Secondly, The extreme Bigotry of this Pretender, who must consequently hold all these Tenets in the highest and strongest Degree. Thirdly, From the Parties who espouse his Cause, particularly from the Cabals of the Court of *Rome*, where the Restoration of this Family hath been the favourite Scheme ever since their Expulsion; nay, why else should the Catholics themselves, in this Country, have ever ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes in his Cause? Why should they even wish well to it, since all, who have any Understanding among them, know they are sacrificing their Liberties. As to a bare Toleration of their Religion, they have it already in the fullest Manner by Connivance. The absolute Establishment of their Religion, and Extirpation of Heresy, is and must be their only Motive; and we may trust to the Assurances they have of effecting it. Lastly, from Experience; for what greater Security, what Promises more solemn, can this Pretender give, than his Father did before him? How he kept those Promises, hath been mention'd already.

If we want more Instances,

Can this Nation hope for better legal Securities for the Toleration of its Religion under a Catholic Prince, than the *French*

Protestants had for the Toleration of theirs by the Edict of *Nantz*? And yet did not *Lewis XIV.* revoke that Edict, though it was the Act of his Grandfather, a Prince whom he always affected to make his Model and Example in Government? Can any Prince be laid under stronger Restraints by the freest Subjects, than the Emperors of *Germany* have been by their Capitulations, and by the Treaty of *Munster*? And yet how ill have these Capitulations been kept with regard to the Protestants? The Genius of Popery will break thro' all Restraints; the most watchful Care cannot prevent it; and yet, were that the only Evil, what a terrible Misfortune is it in Government, for a Nation to be always distrusting its Sovereign? But Instances are numberless, that no Precautions can save a People under this Circumstance. It is but lately, that the Palatinate, by the Failure of the Protestant Line, has come under a Popish Prince. Have we forgot how many *Palatines* were forc'd to take Refuge here against the Rage of popish Persecution, no longer ago than in the Reign of *Queen Anne*? How cruelly, how perfidiously, were the *Bohemian* and *Hungarian* Protestants used by their Sovereigns, almost to the Ruin of the *Austrian* Family. And I pray God, that the great Services they are now doing the present Queen, may not be forgot hereafter,

as those of the *Vaudois* were by the Duke of *Savoy*, if the Jesuits ever regain that Ascendant over her Councils, as they had over those of that Prince, though he was otherwise a very wise Man ! But how much more certain will be the Infraction of any legal Restraints, under a Prince coming in by Force of Arms, by the Assistance of popish Powers, who will consider this Nation as a conquer'd Country, conquer'd not only for him, but for his Lord and Protector the Pope. To dream of Security under such an Invader, is like setting open our Doors to a Highwayman, and trusting to his Honour and Conscience not to rob us. Nay, it is more absurd ; for a Highwayman is not bound in Honour or Conscience to rob us, whereas the Pretender is bound by both, to destroy our Religion and Liberties : His Conscience tells him he must do the one, his Engagements with *France* oblige him to do the other. For till we are enslaved, *France* very well knows she cannot be Mistress of *Europe*, and therefore she uses this Tool to do that Work for her, which all her own Power cannot perform.

But should this great Work be once effected, let us never hope for another Deliverance. If we give up these great Purchases of our Ancestors, our Posterity will never be able to regain them. It will, indeed,

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deed, put a final End to the Protestant Religion, as well as to Liberty, in *Europe*.

In what Light, therefore, can we see this Measure of our Enemies to introduce such a Government and such a Religion, but as the highest Insult on our Understanding, as an open Declaration that they suppose us to be Fools, as well as intend to make us Slaves. This is indeed a pregnant Example of that Contempt for *English* Wisdom, which *France* hath of late particularly affected.

Could the Instability of human Nature, or that Satiety which the Possession even of Happiness too often induces; nay, could the Sense of any Grievance incline us to a Desire of Change, yet surely the Colours under which this Invader comes, are sufficient to make the most fickle, the most simple, or the most angry Man reject him. Was the Throne vacant and elective, would it be possible to give a stronger Reason against the Pretensions of any Candidate, than that he was recommended by those two Crowns, under whose Protection, and by whose Assistance, this Pretender now disturbs these Kingdoms! One of these Crowns, divided from us by incompatible Interests, the natural Enemy and Rival of our Trade, and which hath long regarded us as the principal Obstacle to that Ambition, whose Views extend themselves all
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over *Europe*, and which in this last Campaign, hath by many Instances of Cruelty exerted an unwonted and an unwarranted Fury towards us. The other, naturally less an Enemy perhaps to our Power, but more to our Religion, and both at present making War on our Trade with the most violent and implacable Rage.

Were therefore the Views of our Enemies less apparent on this Occasion, were the Advantages which they propose in this Measure to acquire to themselves, or the Destruction which they will necessarily bring upon us, less manifest; yet, surely, if that known Line,

Hoc Ithacus velit & magno mercentur Atrida,

may ever be quoted with any Force of Argument, it is on this Occasion. If *France*, if *Spain* would chuse this Man to reign over us, common Sense cries aloud to us, *reject him*. If it be their Interest to support, it is that of *Britain* to oppose him. If he will strengthen them, he must ruin us. Nor are the particular Views of each Crown less obvious. What can be plainer than the Advantage which *France* must gain in her two grand Views of extending her Dominions and her Trade, than by placing a Lieutenant (for he would be absolutely and really no more) to reign over that People who are the most capable of

obstructing her in both; and who, in all Ages, have had the greatest Share in clipping the Wings of her Ambition, and since in checking the Growth of that Commerce to which her late most prudent Ministers have so vigorously applied themselves; well knowing that in that alone, and not in vast Tracts of Land, consist the Riches, and consequently the Power of a Kingdom. In this Branch she hath lately felt the Force of *British* Opposition, and is at present thoroughly sensible how dearly she hath bought her Success on the Continent, by a War which hath almost totally ruin'd her Trade, and which must have effectually destroyed it, had she not found this Way of distressing us at Home, and of confining our Naval Force to the Defence of our own Coasts.

And what can the Views of *Spain* be, other than to settle here that Religion which is profess'd and practis'd in her own Realm, with a Cruelty and Persecution in which she out-does even *Rome* herself. In a political Sense, it cannot be the Interest of *Spain* to subject this Nation to a Dependence on the Councils of *France*, which must be the necessary Effect of the Pretender's being establish'd here. Such a Design can be espoused by that Court on no other Motives than the Desire of propagating their Religion, even at the Expence of their Civil Interest; and to that bigot-
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ted View they have at all times sacrificed every other; witness, among many other Instances, their Conduct in the *Low Countries*, in the Reign of *Philip II.* This therefore must be her Purpose, in abetting the Enterprize now carrying on with *France* against our establish'd Government; and the Zeal with which she hath engaged in the Cause, shows the Assurances she hath received from this her Agent of fulfilling her Design.

As to our Loss by this detestable Exchange, what would it be less than of every thing dear and valuable, of our pure and excellent Religion for Popery and abject Superstition? Of our inestimable Liberties for *French* Slavery; and of the Trade, Wealth and Commerce, of a powerful, a free and a flourishing People, for the Misery and Poverty of a subjected dependant Province?

And what are the Pretences with which this Invasion is colour'd over? What is the Creed imposed on our Minds, by our more impudent than powerful Enemies, but that a popish Pretender, educated in all the Tenets of Bigotry, will maintain a Religion to which he is a profess'd Foe; and which he cannot even tolerate, according to the Faith in which he is bred, under Pain of Damnation? That one nursed up in hereditary Principles (for I may justly so term them)

them) of absolute Power, will protect our Liberties? And that the Creature, the mere Instrument of *France*, will secure us the Possession of those Blessings which to deprive us of is the Interest, and hath been the principal Aim of that Crown? God be praised, as these things are gross and visible, so they are seen and felt. It is not, therefore, with a Purpose of correcting an ignorant, a supine, or a perverse People, that the Friends of our Religion and Liberties have taken up their Pen; but with the more pleasing Intention of encouraging and animating Men already resolv'd to continue to themselves and their Posterity those Blessings they enjoy, and chearfully to hazard their Fortunes and Lives, rather than submit to render those precarious, or these worthless, under popish and arbitrary Power.

I will not on this Occasion descend to consider particular Interests: I will not remind all those who are possessed of Abbey-Lands or forfeited Estates, or who are interested in the Funds, how much they are concerned to oppose a Torrent which threatens to overwhelm their Fortunes. The Whole is at Stake. We have the Pretender's own Word for it, in his Declaration now publish'd in *Scotland*, that he is above our Laws; that he will regard none of them, not the most antient, upon which the Security of every Man's Property rests,

nay,

may, even the Security of their Lives, and of the Bread, the Inheritance of their Children. For even *Neutrals are to be included in his Resentment, and all those who do not take Arms in his Cause subjected to the Penalties of High-Treason.* A most detestable and bloody Declaration! Which may raise a Doubt, whether its Inhumanity flies more in the Face of natural Justice, or of our Law; by which, even as long ago as the Reign of *Henry VII.* it is declared that any Man may support the King *de facto*, without incurring those Penalties which this wicked, insolent, incensed Tyrant hath denounced against the whole People of *England*, (some few Rebels only excepted.)

Good God! Is this a Bait to allure us? Nay, can such a Curse be imposed on us by any Force, unless what is capable of conquering the whole Kingdom, and extirpating its Inhabitants. But with what less than such an Extirpation (if the Strength of our Enemies could equal their Rage) are we actually threatned by this Incurfion of Barbarians? Shall we open our Gates to a Banditti, a Rabble of Thieves and Outlaws, who have already exercis'd the most barbarous Methods on those who have yielded to their Force. — What are they indeed but Savages, who, as they inhabit as barren a Country,

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have the barbarous Manners of *Huns* and *Vandals*; and, like them, would by their Swords cut their Way into the Wealth of richer Climates. What are we to expect but Rapine and Massacres, from a Gang of Wretches whom the Desire of Plunder and an innate Love of Rebellion and Civil War have animated to this Undertaking.

Let us therefore unite in Associations; let us call forth the old *English* Spirit in this truly *English* Cause; let neither Fear nor Indolence prevail on one Man to refuse doing his Duty in the Defence of his Country, against an Invader by whom his Property, his Family, his Liberty, his Life, and his Religion are threatned with immediate Destruction.

A CALM ADDRESS to all Parties in Religion, whether Protestant or Catholic, on the Score of the Present REBELLION; being a brief and dispassionate Enquiry, whether the Reign of the Pretender would be advantageous to the Civil Interest and Commerce of Great Britain, supposing that he was to succeed in his present Attempts, and allowing that he afterwards would conduct himself according to the Principles of HONOUR and HONESTY.

IT is not to be doubted, but that the Friends and Partizans of this Gentleman believe and give out, That it would be greatly for the Welfare of this Nation, that he should prevail: That his Reign, and that the Restoration of his Family, would take away the Cause of Party Factions and Divisions: That the Liberties and Properties of the Subject would be secured upon as good, or rather a better Footing than they are at present: That Trade would increase and flourish: That the People would be eased of a great Part of their Taxes: And lastly, that

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he himself is a good, sincere, and honest Man, and will give clear Proofs of it during the Course of his future Government.

Let us grant (for Argument sake) the Sincerity of his Heart, and the Uprightness of his Intentions, to be as great as the most sanguine of his Adherents can conceive them to be. And let us consider what political Consequences, with respect to Us, those very Principles would naturally produce in such a Prince, and in his peculiar Situation.

I. Then his Title and Claim to these Kingdoms must be grounded upon the Doctrine of an *indefeasible hereditary Right*. He can have no other Pretence but this; for the present reigning Family have the *Parliamentary Right* on their Side, being called to the Crown by an unconstrained and open Election. His Plea therefore must be, and is in Fact, That he is come to assert and regain his *Property*, which has been so long detained from him.

Now, if the Crown is a Matter of *Property*, and not an Office in *Trust*; if it is *unalienable*, and not to be transfer'd by the People, according as they shall see it most conducive for the Security of their Liberties, and the general Good; this unalienable and hereditary Property is likewise, for the very same Reason, not to be diminished, or infringed

fringed upon ; consequently all Statutes made to restrain or abridge the *Prerogative* are void and null of course : They are so many Encroachments and Usurpations. The Subject is born the Property of his Prince ; therefore has no Right to insist upon Terms and Conditions from him : His only Duty is patiently to submit to the Will and Command of the Proprietor.

Thus *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* are necessarily connected with an *indefeasible hereditary Right* ; and what Prince soever maintains the one himself, may as reasonably and equitably require the other to be practis'd by his Subjects. And this was the very Reason why King *Charles I.* tho' a virtuous, conscientious, and intentionally an honest Man, made no Scruple to disregard too much the Liberties of the People, *viz.* because he consider'd them as Things they had no Right to, but either as Encroachments upon his Property, or as Acts of Grace and Favour resumeable at Pleasure.

II. If the *Chevalier* succeeds to the Crown, he can do no less, consistently with the Principles of Gratitude and Justice, than to restore to his Benefactor the King of *Spain*, the important Fortresses and Ports of *Gibraltar* and *Mahon* : This would be no

extravagant or unreasonable Demand in the latter to make, but it would be a thing highly injurious and ungrateful in the former to refuse. These Places were taken by those whom the *Pretender* must stile Usurpers, and from those who have ever been assisting him, and who are the present Instruments in helping him to recover the Possession of his (supposed) just Rights. Upon his Coming to the Throne, he has no Claim to them by *Treaty*, *Cession* or *Conquest*; consequently can have no Appearance of Right of any sort to detain them, but is bound in Justice, as well as Gratitude, to deliver them up to their rightful Owners with respect to him. Thus all the Trade to the *Mediterranean* would, in a Manner, depend upon the Pleasure of the *Spanish Court*, and become uncertain and precarious; Neither would it be in the Power of the *British* Nation to rule there with her Fleets, as she doth at present, to awe her Enemies, and succour her Friends, for want of Ports and Places of Security for her Ships to retire to, and refit, &c.

III. The same Reasoning holds with respect to the delivering up of *Cape Breton* to the *French*: Both Justice and Gratitude demand it of him. But as the Case stands at present,

present, if we prove successful in the War, we shall certainly keep it ; and by that Means open to ourselves a Trade more beneficial than all the Mines of *Peru* ; but if ever so unfortunate, we shall still be able to obtain something valuable in lieu of it, and so procure a Peace upon more advantageous Terms than could otherwise be obtain'd. Add to this, That it is much to be question'd, whether *France*, in the Plenitude of her Power, would practise such an unusual Moderation, as to be content with the redelivering up of *Cape Breton*, as an Equivalent for all the Expences she has been at in plac'ing the *Pretender* on the Throne, when it will be intirely at her Option to make her own Terms, and to insist upon the most valuable Possessions we have either in *America*, or elsewhere, in order to prevent it from ever being in the Power of the *British* Nation to oppose her again.

IV. The Duty on *French* Wines must be lower'd, so as to be upon a Par with that on the like Commodities of other Nations, for it would be very strange indeed, and an ill Requital of Favour and Protection, if the *Cbevalier*, when King, would put the Subjects of *that* Crown which restor'd him to *his*, upon a worse Footing than the rest of *Europe*

Europe within his Dominions. The Produce of *France*, when imported here, pay heavier Duties at present than that of other Nations, and her Wines are charg'd near two Thirds more than those of *Portugal*. Can we imagine then, that *France* would not embrace such an Opportunity (as here suppos'd) to have these Duties repeal'd? The thing looks very plausible, and carries a Face of Equity that it should be so. And can the *Chevalier* in Point of Decency, Honour or Gratitude refuse to concur in it? Or dar'd he if he would?

What then would be the Consequences with respect to us? *French* Goods of various sorts would be imported, seeing their People work so much cheaper than ours, to the Ruin of our own Manufactures; *French* Wines almost universally drank, *Port* omitted, and consequently that most valuable Part of our Commerce, the *Portugal Trade*, as good as lost: Our ready Specie would be carried into *France*, and very little fresh Supplies, if any, brought from *Portugal*. The Effect of this double Loss would be yearly to the Nation, upon the very lowest and most moderate Calculation, upwards of a *Million* Sterling. According to the Reasonings and Principles of all the best Writers on Trade,

Trade, it would be near *two Millions* Odds to us.

V. Seeing such a Reign as this, now suppos'd, must unavoidably be productive of so many Grievances, and just Matters of Complaint, the Number of Malecontents and dissatisfied Persons would be, upon every Account, much greater, and their Clamours more violent than ever. And as the present reigning Family would be look'd upon, at that supposed Juncture, as the Pretenders, and his Rivals to the Throne, the Discontented and Disaffected would be so much the more potent and formidable; therefore a *numerous Standing Army* must be kept up, or a new Revolution would soon ensue. Hence, Taxes would be rather multiplied than diminish'd; for either the Government would have the same Load of Debt upon it that it has at present, or not. ---- If not, the National Debts must be wiped out with a Sponge, (for in such Circumstances there could be no other Method of paying them) and then all the publick Creditors would be defrauded, and many Thousands totally ruin'd. But if the same are supposed to remain, then the necessary Expences of the Service, joined to the Sinking Funds, would at least make the Taxes equal to what they are
now,

now, tho' there would not be half or quarter the Trade or Money in the Nation to answer them.

VI. After these Things impartially considered, we may clearly observe, that the continued Assistance of *France* would become absolutely and unavoidably necessary to support such a tottering Crown. It would therefore be the Interest of the *Chevalier* to see *Flanders* always in the Hands of *France*; because, by that Means, Forces could the sooner be sent over to his Assistance upon any Emergency; and it would be the Interest of *France* secretly to foment these Divisions, or at least, not to take away the Cause of them, in order to keep the Crown of *Great Britain* still dependent; so that, in short, the *Chevalier* would be in fact little better than a *Viceroy*, or a *Lord Lieutenant*, under the *Grand Monarch*.

VII. There can be nothing that the Favourers of this Gentleman can reply to these Observations, but this, That when he is once settled upon the Throne, he will then consult the Interests of the *British* Nation only, and disregard the Demands or Expectations of *Foreigners*. --- I have shewn, that he cannot do this, consistently with Gratitude

tude and Honour: But if, notwithstanding, it is still insisted on that he will, --- I ask, what Security can we have, that such a Prince will be more conscientious in performing his Engagements to Us, whom he will consider as his Property, than to Others, whom he had no such Claims upon, and to whom he was so much obliged.

Besides, it will not be in his Power to act in this Respect as he would chuse. -- *France*, enlarg'd by Conquests, her Frontiers secur'd by the *Rhine*, her Commerce increas'd, and rais'd upon the Destruction of Ours, with all the Ports of *Flanders*, within a few Hours Sail of our own Coasts, in her Possession, would easily compel the distracted and divided People of *Great Britain*, sunk in Trade and Credit, and without Finances, or Allies, to submit to her own Terms. And it is evidently no more the Design of that Crown to raise the Power of the *Pre-tender*, so as to be independent of her, and consequently capable of turning his Arms against her, than it is to favour the Interests of the present reigning Family. --- Whomsoever she assists, she doth it with no other View, than of making them *Tools*, subservient to her own Interests and Deligns; ---

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which, in the Nature of Things, must be always contrary to those of *Great Britain*.

VIII. Upon the whole therefore it clearly appears, that the Situation of this Gentleman is so *odd* and *unhappy*, that 'tis impossible for him to make a *good King* to the People of *Great Britain*, or to have a prosperous Reign. The very supposed Goodness of his Heart, and the Rectitude of his Intentions, (Virtues which in other Circumstances would render a People prosperous and happy) would be so far from being of Service to us, in his Situation, that they would embarrass him the more, and influence him to pursue the most unpopular Measures, the most prejudicial to the Interests of this Kingdom. In short, either Way, suppose him *good* or *bad*, by Principle or Disposition, we have nothing to expect from him, no other Prospect before us, but Misery and Ruin to us and our Posterity.

IX. These Considerations should weigh with People of all Persuasions in religious Matters, who have any Regard to the Welfare of their Country, and have Property to lose. Even the *Roman Catholics* themselves cannot reasonably hope for any solid and substantial Advantage by a Change.

They now do, and always have enjoyed under his present Majesty, and his Royal Father, as free and undisturbed an Exercise of their Religion, as if they had obtained a legal Toleration: And all the true Friends of *Liberty of Conscience* wish them the Continuance of it, as long as they behave like good and dutiful Subjects in their civil Capacity. What then can they reasonably expect from the Success of the *Pretender*? ----- Nothing that can compensate the Evils that will unavoidably ensue, since they are already permitted to serve God according to the Dictates of their Conscience.

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